

## AT THE CALL OF AIDSO

# Ten Thousand Students March to Parliament

## Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's Illuminating Speech at AIDSO Meeting at Delhi

The banal climate of helplessness of the masses under the grinding wheel of capitalist exploitation, misery and destitution attended with the crippling psychology in absence of any clear cut political direction toward a revolutionary solution of the pressing problems of their life was removed, as it were, for a while on the 25th of February 1975. On that day, the people in the capital of our country witnessed something new, a ray of hope, in their long wearied experiences. It was a refreshing relief, with vigour for a new future. Yes, when the hard-pressed working people of our country were thinking that nothing in the country was left for them to be hoped for, came the students in thousands from the length and breadth of this vast country, unfurling the red banner, the symbol of hope, of manly vigour and with the strident call of life—the call of struggle. They presented to the Government their charter of 13-point demands on behalf of one million students who signed it.

Not for nothing, the rightist voice was shrill in panic. "The Motherland", the mouthpiece of Jan Sangh was telling the people before the programme to be wide awake to the danger, the Students' March to the Parliament at the call of AIDSO spells. Not for nothing, the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois parties were speculative. For them, it was rather an intrusion into their safe preserve of opportunist parliamentary politics where the real aspiration of the oppressed masses and the correct solution of their life's vital problems have no relevance.

The March to the parliament on 25th by ten thousand students under the banner of AIDSO was a departure in all respects. It was a rude shock to all these parties and forces in as much as it heralded a turn in the politics of our country when the people's real voice and real demand were heard and henceforth they will be more vigorous, more vibrant.

Even before the March, Delhi people,—the common masses, the intellectuals, all democratic minded persons having any concern for the future of the country saw in pleasant wonder the demands of

AIDSO written profusely on the walls of the capital. They wondered whether there had been any organisation in the country that could articulate the specific demands for a secular democratic-scientific education, the only correct outlook to education and its various problems. For the first time, the students were forcefully demanding that education and its specific problems should get the required priority over wasteful expenditure like defence and other so-called prestigious projects, if the country is to be taken to

the road of progress.

From 24th onwards, Delhi was agog with a new sensation. Students were coming in hundreds from West Bengal, Assam, Orissa, Bihar, UP, MP, Andhra, Kerala, Haryana, Punjab and other States. Disciplined and active batches of volunteers were receiving them in railway stations and at different spots. The banners, the colourful posters, the slogans, the cheers, the beaming smiles of the students braving the hardships they had to bear with in their long wearisome journey in jam-packed compartments—everything pointed out unmistakably something different, something inspiring that even caught the passersby, the ordinary people. They came in eagerness to enquire about

the matter. They heard the students' cause and the programme, took eagerly the printed leaflet and evinced keen interest and appreciation. What struck them most in the students and volunteers were their sincerity, sense of discipline, the firm conviction and cheerful spirit despite very many odds and hardships that came in their way.

The volunteer comrades were with composure bearing the arduous responsibility of attending to the needs of the streaming student comrades who also on their part cooperated,—all of them for single purpose. This sense of discipline, devotion to duty round the clock, the cheerful spirit won the high appreciation of common people because such thing

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A symbol of devotion, determination and discipline

# Proletarian Era

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## Fourteenth Annual State Conference Of West Bengal KKMf

The Fourteenth Annual State Conference of the West Bengal Krishak O Khet Majoor Federation will be held on and from 15th to 17th March 1975 at SUBODH NAGAR (the venue of the conference at Beharampur Town is being named SUBODH NAGAR to pay homage to the glorious memory of struggle of the demised leader, a life long revolutionary Comrade Subodh Banerjee) under the presidentship of the renowned mass leader Comrade Protiva Mukherjee.

On 15th March '75 Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, General Secretary SUCI will address the inaugural open session of the State Conference as the main speaker. Sri Nabakrushna Choudhury, the octagenarian renowned mass leader will be the Guest-in-Chief. Comrade Nihar Mukherjee Secretary West Bengal State Committee SUCI, Comrade Yakub Pailan, Secretary West Bengal KKMf will also address the open session.

On 16th and 17th March '75 the delegate sessions will be held at "SUBODH NAGAR" Vairabata Ghat conference pandel.

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# Resolution of the tenth Congress of the CPI—A total betrayal of the People's cause

The resolution adopted at the tenth Congress of the CPI, held at Vijayawada is nothing unexpected. It is the reaffirmation of the continuation of the same old shameless policy of the CPI of aligning with the Congress. Thus the resolution declares, ".....the tactical line and direction of mass movement worked out at the Cochin Party Congress remains basically valid for the coming period." The resolution once again betrays the non-working class character of this party. This resolution is nothing but a document of self contradiction, blind anti-China tirade and unabashed sycophancy of the Soviet revisionist leadership.

There is no doubt about the fact that the acute crises confronting the country are due to the present capitalist exploitation and hence the overthrow of the bourgeois rule is absolutely essential to free the people from this all round crisis. But the resolution of the tenth Congress of the CPI while pointing out the various ills of the country is silent about the necessity of the overthrow of capitalism. Not only that the CPI leadership is searching a "progressive" section within the Congress—and this Congress is mainly responsible for all the evils of the country. It is because of the policy of the Congress and its Government that "our toiling people have suffered most. Unprecedented impoverishment involving new sections of the people has taken place during this crisis. Millions of toilers particularly in the country-side have become paupers. Thousands died of starvation not only in the flood or drought affected areas but also where food was available but the poor had not the wherewithal to buy it in the market or even from Government shops". It is because of this Congress and its Government that the monopolists, big traders, big landlords and usurers have enriched themselves as never before and hundreds of crores of rupees extra profit have been earned by the big business houses in one single year. This Congress and its Government have given a good bye to all the democratic norms, civil liberty has been denied to the

people, administrative neutrality in the relative sense also has been completely destroyed, the election has been reduced to mockery by large scale and planned rigging. The Congress and its Government have murdered hundreds of youths in police lock up and in many areas of West Bengal the meetings of the opposition parties have been violently attacked by the Congress hirelings. The Congress Government resorted to unprecedented fascist attack to break the strike of the railway employees and such lawless laws like DIR, MISA and other repressive measures are frequently invoked to crush the legitimate and democratic struggles of the people. When this is the real face of the Congress, the CPI is certifying that the Congress contains within its fold a "progressive section". Is it an error of judgement or a cold, calculated move to gain some advantage in parliamentary politics?

The so-called progressive section of the Congress has always supported all these anti-people and undemocratic acts of the Congress party and even the CPI had to admit it in the resolution of the tenth Congress. Thus the resolution puts on record that this left and democratic section within the Congress "in general failed to support the just struggles of the masses in several cases" and further states that "some sections of them even came out opposing such struggle". But inspite of these facts the CPI goes on certifying that a section

of the Congress is 'progressive'. What does it indicate? The only thing that it clearly shows is that the CPI, whatever may be its expressed goal and whatever may be its vocabulary never wants revolution. In any revolution, the main task is the smashing of the state machine, but the CPI, by helping and supporting the Congress which serves the bourgeois class interest, is really helping in strengthening and consolidating the bourgeois state machine. So what the CPI wants under the smokescreen of revolutionary phraseology is reformation. The CPI is a party of compromise between labour and capital, they want the continuation of the *status quo*.

The search for a 'progressive' section within the Congress emanates from their wrong strategy of Indian revolution. Without a proper and scientific analysis of the concrete situation obtaining in our country, the CPI has imposed a fanciful theory about the stage of revolution over our country. According to their fanciful theory a section of the bourgeoisie will be an ally in their revolution. Whatever difference there might be in terminology, there is no fundamental difference between the CPI and the CPI(M) in their analysis of the stage of Indian revolution and the CPI(M) also like the CPI thinks that a section of the bourgeoisie will be an ally in their people's democratic revolution. The only difference between the CPI and the CPI(M) boils down to the point that while the CPI thinks that this progressive section is within the Congress, the CPI(M) holds different view and while the CPI(M) thinks the stage of Indian revolution as people's democratic, the CPI thinks that there is a phase of national democratic revolution before that.

According to their theory the CPI is searching for the 'progre-

sive' section of the national bourgeoisie who will be their ally in their national democratic revolution. But their analysis of the stage of Indian revolution is completely wrong. India is out and out a capitalist state and the national bourgeoisie are in the helm of the state apparatus. That India is a capitalist state has been admitted in the resolution of the tenth Congress of the CPI also. After the attainment of independence in 1947 the phase of bourgeois democratic revolution ended though in a half-baked and truncated way. With the establishment of bourgeois rule in our country, the bourgeoisie as a class have become completely reactionary. But in the present era when capitalism is in acute crisis, exploitation in the old way may lead to difficulty and so the bourgeoisie change tactics and wear a radical cloak to befool and hoodwink the people. This section of the bourgeoisie who don a radical and progressive mask is potentially more dangerous than the right reactionary forces and this so-called radical section of the bourgeoisie lays the foundation stone of fascism in the country as this section can befool the people and carry the masses along with them in their sinister motive of serving the aggregate interest of monopoly capitalism in the country.

According to the CPI thesis of the stage of Indian revolution, a section of bourgeoisie must be their ally. But who are they? The CPI leadership frantically searched for this section of the progressive bourgeoisie according to their totally erroneous thesis of the stage of revolution and came to the conclusion that this section within the Congress who are posing as 'radical' must be the saviour of their thesis of national democratic revolution. The rank and file of the CPI must realise the ridiculous position of their party because of

the totally fanciful idea about the stage of Indian revolution.

The stage of Indian revolution is anti-capitalist socialist revolution and in this revolution the bourgeois class has to be overthrown from the state power. Under such a situation when the battle is to be waged against the entire bourgeois class as the main enemy, to extend support to that section of the bourgeoisie who are serving the aggregate interest of the capitalist class and are potential fascist force in our country is nothing but a total betrayal to the cause of the revolution and the CPI is exactly guilty of this heinous crime.

Again the resolution of the tenth Congress of the CPI raises the question of rightist danger. Who denies the fact that the rightist forces would be a danger if they can gain sufficient strength? But one must differentiate between this "would be danger" and the present danger posed by Smt. Gandhi and her Congress. Is there any logic to support the Congress which is at present the main enemy of the people, on the plea of resisting right reaction? Does the conservative section of the bourgeoisie bring fascism in the country? It is that section of the bourgeoisie which wear a 'radical' cloak, that brings fascism. Judged in that context it is the Congress backed by the CPI, which can bring fascism in our country and Smt. Gandhi and her Government have taken measures which lays the foundation stone of fascism in our country. So on the plea of resisting right reaction the CPI is helping the Congress to consolidate the state power and bring fascism in India and this is being done by the CPI with a narrow objective of increasing its bargaining power over the Congress in the next election.

The CPI claims itself to be Marxist-Leninist. Marxism-Leninism teaches

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# ON THE QUESTION OF HOLDING A JOINT CONVENTION WITH P.C. SEN AND OTHER RIGHTIST FORCES IN WEST BENGAL

The question of holding a joint convention by six left parties of West Bengal, including CPI (M), on the one hand and 'Navanirman Samity'—a newly formed organisation representing the rightist forces like Congress(O), Jan sangh, Lok Dal etc. under the leadership of P.C. Sen the erstwhile and the most discredited Chief Minister of West Bengal on the other, on the demands of civil liberty, democratic rights, free and fair elections has created a serious controversy no doubt. Three other left parties of the nine-party-combination viz. SUC, RCP and Worker's Party, although for entirely different reasons, have ultimately refused to associate themselves with this convention.

We note with surprise that a systematic anti-SUC campaign has been let loose from different quarters centring round even this question of our dissociation from the said convention probably with the ulterior motive of tarnishing our bright image before the eye of the people. Some with an air of great satisfaction are trying to show the "utter" contradiction in SUC's stand in as much as it has joined in Bihar movement and the All India Co-ordination Committee along with the rightists but has refused to hold a joint convention with "Navanirman Samity" in West Bengal. Some others are taking pains to impress upon that the stand of all other parties, whether anybody agrees or not, excepting that of SUC is understandable. Some are trying to hint at that SUC had, in fact, no objection whatsoever in holding such a joint convention even with the rightist forces but the decision of two other parties i.e. RCP and Worker's Party, to dissociate themselves from this convention allegedly put SUC in a "difficult" situation and in its bid to maintain the so-called "revolutionary stance" it had to change its earlier decision. Some journals, over which the CPI (M) leadership has a control, did not miss a single moment to paint SUC as a disruptive party since SUC could not associate itself with such a discredited force, nor was it agreeable to be a party to the so-called move of 'broadening' the democratic movement along

with the right forces and a damaging simultaneously the very unity and cohesion of the leftist parties in the nine-party-combination. We do not know how could these quarters paint this very act of breaking left unity on the part of particularly CPI (M) as a symbol of unity for going against which we have been branded as a disruptor? This is queer indeed! We make the following discussion to help the common people know the truth and understand the kind of politics that is promoting such an anti-SUC canard.

The CPI (M) leader, Mr. Promode Das Gupta, in his bid to defend the decision of CPI (M) to hold a joint convention with P. C. Sen and other rightist forces and naturally to rebut the stand taken by SUC has quoted in an article from Lenin's Works the content of which is no doubt very significant. The relevant excerpts of Lenin suggest that proletariat should never neglect the struggle for the establishment of democracy because, according to him, it is the condition precedent for the victory of socialism as such. In order to thrust the victory of the proletariat upon the bourgeoisie it is essential for the proletariat to conduct a manifold and relentless struggle for the establishment of democracy. Moreover, it has been suggested that mass movements should be conducted by the proletariat not only to preserve every inch of hard-won democratic rights but also for the extension of those rights. We fully agree with these Leninist teachings and in fact no genuine

communist can disagree with it. But we are at a loss to understand whom the CPI (M) leader has in mind when he quotes from Lenin and whom he intends to fight against? If it is SUC then he is absolutely mistaken because SUC not only fully agrees with these Leninist teachings but is also seriously trying to shape out the policies of the party and their concrete applications in accordance with this understanding of Leninism. So we fail to understand that to impress upon whom the CPI (M) leader quoted from Lenin's Works and gave in the said article, the examples of South Vietnam etc. where the communists formed unity even with the priests and monks and whom the communists were ultimately able to isolate from the masses by successfully exposing them more and more in the process of the struggle. Has SUC at any stage reflected any understanding which goes contrary to this Leninist teaching? It is well known that a working class party may have to forge unity, although temporarily, even with a most reactionary force for furthering the cause of working class itself in a given situation which offers maximum possibility of not only isolating the main and common enemy from the rest of the reactionary forces as also from the people but also making that reactionary force, with which the working class party unites, incapacitated in the very process. Such instances are not uncommon in the history of working class movement—nor is the adoption of such tactics untenable with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism either, given a correct understanding of the science of dialectics.

We have grave doubts whether the CPI (M) leadership really believes in this Leninist teaching or whether this party has been able to make a correct

appraisal of this aspect of Leninism. Because had it been so, then CPI (M), just like SUC, would have participated in the mass movements of Bihar and elsewhere for the realisation of the just demands of the people. So, may we ask Mr. Promode Das Gupta a few important questions: Do you agree with this Leninist proposition? If so, then how is it that your party is not only not joining in, but also keeping itself thousand miles apart from all these mass movements on the plea of 'rightist participation'? How is it that your party is not taking courage to face the onslaught of the coercive machinery of the capitalist state by going to the people, joining in their just movements so that the common men are not thrown as pawns in the hands of the rightist leadership? Is it not a fact that under whatsoever pretext it might be, your non-participation in these mass movements that are practically on the verge of head-on-collision with the Indira Government has been a great source of satisfaction, relief and comfort to the ruling party? Does it not reflect some sort of understanding with Indira inspite of your mouthful anti-Indira slogans? Does this stand of your party of shunning all mass movements on the plea of 'rightist participation' at all corroborate with the excerpts of Lenin which you have yourself quoted in your article? Is it consistent with Leninism? Or it is the SUC that has taken a correct Leninist stand, gone to the people, joined in their just movements in spite of these movements being organised, and still today led, by the rightist forces and faced the maximum onslaught of the coercive machinery of the capitalist state even being a small party? In fact it is SUC that has not been perplexed at the complexity of the situation, rather taken courage to join in

these movements with its limited strength so that by joining in these movements it can one day isolate the rightist leadership, lay the foundation of an organised and protracted mass movement against the capitalist system as such through the overthrow of which alone can the emancipation of people be achieved. So, who is Leninist, the CPI(M) or the SUC?—We ask the CPI(M) leader to answer. Then again, since Lenin advised to defend democracy and broaden democratic movement does that mean that the communists should pick up a spent up and the most discredited force and help in its rehabilitation against whom the common people had to conduct a life and death battle? Is defence of democracy synonymous with hobnobbing with the rightist forces who by themselves pose great danger for democracy? Has it any relevance with Leninism? Will the CPI(M) leaders answer?

The CPI(M) leader, we are sure, will hasten to add, which he did in the said article, that "there cannot be anything like 'progressive' or 'reactionary' in questions like civil liberty etc. but the struggle on economic issues is a different matter." All the top CPI(M) leaders in all their recent speeches and articles on this issue are dishing out this "novel Marxist thesis" to their cadres being faced with heaps of questions inside the party. This is done ostensibly to justify their non-participation in mass movements in Bihar, Gujrat etc. vis-a-vis their present hobnob with P. C. Sen and other rightist forces which is liable to make these discredited forces champions of people's cause in the left oriented state of West Bengal where, despite recent setback in the left movements, the rightist forces have not yet been able to make any headway. In fact, haunting after such a "brilliant" thesis was the only course

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# Marxism-Leninism Alone is Capable of Providing a Scientific Solution of People's Problems

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has become a rarity in the country.

Now to the 25th. The Parliament has witnessed demonstrations before but this time it was a different thing altogether. It was not from the India Gate to Parliament,—a routine affair. It was ten thousand strong, colourfully decorated, disciplined march of the students to the Parliament. The discipline, the waves of bright red banners, the big portrait of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the great leader and teacher of the working people, the serious mood of the processionists, all gave an altogether different spectacle. "We have never seen before such a disciplined, colourful procession, full of purpose and honesty" was the usual appreciative comments that greeted the marchers.

The Students came in that massive colourful procession, trekking a long route from Ambedkar Stadium through Tolstoy Marg, Feroze Shah Road, Janapath and other main streets of the capital. On two sides thronged hundreds of common people who also moved with the procession. After more than two hours march, the procession reached near the Rastrapati Bhawan where it was stopped by the police. The processionists and the people merged together in the Mazdoor Maidan and mass meeting was held under the Presidentship of Com. Chitta Behera, Orissa State Secretary of A. I. D. S. O. Meanwhile Comrades Provash Ghosh President, Chhaya Mukherjee Secretary, A. I. D. S. O., Omprokash Suman, Sanjit Biswas went in a deputation to meet the Prime Minister to present the memorandum containing 13 Point demands of A. I. D. S. O., signed by a million students of the country.

After a few inspiring mass songs, the meeting started. Sri Dwijendra Lal Sengupta, M. P. addressed, congratulating the AIDSO for organising this pro-

gramme, the first of its kind in the long 27 year's Congress rule in this country.

Comrade Pritish Chanda, member of the Central Committee of SUCI gave a rousing speech. In his speech, Com. Chanda explained that not only that AIDSO was the only students organisation in our country that has brought to the all-national focus, with all seriousness, the issue of education and its specific problems as also of the student's community on the basis of revolutionary teaching of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher but it also has shown its guts to spell out the truth that like other problems of the oppressed masses, the real solution to the problems of education and of the students lay in the overthrow of this decadent capitalist order by successful completion of the task of anti-capitalist socialist revolution in our country. He urged upon the students and the people to always bear in mind that all our democratic struggles should be oriented and guided in such a manner as can help developing people's political power which alone can carry the society on to the road of revolutionary transformation.

Student leaders—Comrades Omprokash Suman (Delhi), Bhaskar Gupta (West Bengal), Chitta Behera (Orissa), Lal Singh (Haryana), Ram Nakshatra (U.P.), Kantimoy Deb (Assam), Arun Singh (Bihar), Bejoy Kumar (Kerala) spoke. Besides, Prof. D. Premapati and Prof. Jain also spoke.

Comrade Chhaya Mukherjee Secretary, AIDSO read out the memorandum presented to the Government and informed that the Prime Minister did not meet the deputation on the day but a meeting would be held. On 28th a deputation under the leadership of Com. Provash Ghosh, President AIDSO, met the

Prime Minister. The Education Minister also took part in the discussion.

To the demand for enhancement of expenditure on education after putting a halt to heavy drainage of funds to defence and other wasteful expenditures, the Prime Minister took the usual plea of want of money and the continued need of increase in defence expenditure for modernisation of military hardwares. She said so because for her capitalist government aiding the sagging internal market by artificial stimulation of defence production was a must even when it assumed such gigantic proportion as about thirty percent of the total budgetary resources at the cost of continual decrease in expenditure on education and other social services. Comrade Provash Ghosh and others strongly voiced the people's demand that defence of the country can better be met by the people themselves who are well-attended and have for them a social existence worthy of human dignity—instead of maintaining the imperialist legacy of command of military over politics in this respect. Then came the demand for students' participation in the administration of educational institution to which the explanation of the Education Minister amounts to nothing, if not fantastic. At first he was saying that it had already been implemented but when challenged took the plea that as students were not disciplined it was not implemented widely. To this plea of wisdom the only thing that was to be reminded was that a policy matter was not dependent on suterfuges of any sort and if need be, legal sanction should come behind this policy of students participation in administration. Next was the demand for abolition of seat restriction scheme in colleges and universities with the obvious intention of curtailing higher education. It seemed that the Prime Minister and the Education Minister were not even in the know of

the thing. It had to be explained fully before they could come with the usual assurance! And when it was the question of uplifting the educational standard and the question of bringing complete ban on obscene literature and films as also the government's firm stand against the traders and businessmen dealing in those things, both the Prime Minister and the Education Minister seemed to be very much enthusiastic but after a scratch, the depth of their enthusiasm could be known. For example, the P.M. pointed at the lack of qualified teaching staff to be the principal cause of lowering in educational standard but she was told that the cause was not that simple. Besides, how was it that a large number of qualified persons who could profitably be employed in educational institutions remains unemployed in the country and some of them are going out for employment in European and other countries? Does this show any sense of seriousness on the part of the government to arrest brain drain from the country? In short, not to speak of the ability, even serious efforts were visibly lacking on the part of the government to understand and appreciate the various points and proposals contained in the memorandum. What more can be expected of this government?

## Comrade Ghosh's Illuminating Speech

On the 25th night, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era, arrived by train in Delhi, to deliver his speech to the AIDSO meeting, the next day, at the New Convocation Hall. He was received at old Delhi station by thousands of comrades with joyous ovations. He was accorded with warm welcome by the Central and State DSO leaders at the station.

The next day on 26th, at the New Convocation Hall, which was too short in space to accommodate

the students delegates and large number of university professors, and people from different walks of life, Comrade Shibdas Ghosh gave a very illuminating speech, lasting more than two hours. We can only touch on the base points that came in the speech of Comrade Ghosh as it would be quite in the fitness of things that our readers should get the full text of the speech which would be given in a later issue.

Comrade Ghosh reminded the gathering that movements and struggles have never been wanting in our country but they failed to gain the desired result of opening up the way to the real solution of people's vital problems of life. The reason for this lies in the wrong outlook and wrong philosophy behind those struggles and movements. It is only Marxism-Leninism, the scientific philosophy of the working class that alone is capable of leading the masses and the society to scientific solution of their problems. That is why of all the philosophies, the Marxist philosophy which provides the scientific outlook, should be taken up by the masses for solution of their problems and for the advancement of the society.

But to mouth catchy words or quotations of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao-Tse-Tung is no proof that one has mastered the Marxian Science. It is one thing to know, to read the books of the great leaders of the working class but it is completely a different thing to realise the methodology those leaders have taught, have applied concretely in concrete situation in judging a thing or a problem. The soul of Marxism is this methodology, this scientific outlook without mastering which one cannot apply the general teachings of Marxism-Leninism in the concrete situation of a country like ours. The tragedy

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# In Order to Change the World the Workers will have to Change Themselves First

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for us, is that the so-called Marxists who have only verbal allegiance to Marxism and who are no better than headless copyists have so long misguided the oppressed people and their struggles. These gentlemen miss one simple truth that nowhere revolution could be accomplished simply by copying others. The CPI(M), CPI and other groups are guilty of this crime. They have failed to concretely analyse the concrete situation, the concrete class dispositions in our society and mechanically invent the existence of feudalism when in reality the entire production relation in our economy, not only in industry but also in agriculture is capitalist. Here, capitalism has not only developed but has reached the stage of monopoly capitalism. Here, thus has been a fusion of bank capital with industrial capital as a result of which finance capital or imperialist capital has come into being and we are witnessing export of Indian finance capital which is quite different from simple export of commodity, to the markets of Asia, Africa, Latin America and even in highly developed European markets. The fundamental point at issue is not the comparative figures relating to the quantum of capital exported but its basic nature according to the science of Marxism-Leninism. So, when these parties raise slogans against monopoly capital, they actually shield the capitalist system and the capitalist class from the main direction of the blow from the working class. They want that capitalism should not be uprooted, it should be kept alive when as a world system it is at the third stage of crisis that is to say it is enmeshed in overall crisis and has lost completely its progressive role, historically, but only want monopoly should go thereby making a cari-

cature of Marxism. Marxism has taught us that monopoly has not fallen from heaven but it has evolved in the very process of capitalist development and therefore without putting an end to capitalism there can not be an end to monopoly capital. So, by raising the so-called slogan against monopoly capital, these parties are playing false with the people. Indeed, they are playing the role of social democrats which is the force of compromise between labour and capital as the last prop of capitalism.

Comrade Ghosh exposed the utter hollowness and treachery of these parties, dissecting from various angles the various theoretic-

cal incongruities and muddles inherent in the political theses of these parties.

Comrade Ghosh then took up the question as to what was meant by international allegiance and obligation of the working class and its party. Here he also showed how from a mechanical, in place of scientific, dialectical understanding, the so called Marxist parties like CPM and CPI have always interpreted wrongly the sense of authority as synonymous with authoritarianism and how much harm has been caused by that in developing proletarian movement in our country.

Comrade Ghosh also showed that in the writings and utterances of CPI(M) and CPI, one can find how frequently they are trying to justify their various

stands on pragmatic considerations. It is queer indeed because 'pragmatism' is nothing but a synonym for opportunism. It is one thing to be realist which means to take a balanced, all sided view of a situation but definitely not pragmatism which is philosophically of different character. It is a petty bourgeois opportunism, avoidance of struggle, compromising class politics.

In fine, Comrade Ghosh stressed the urgent need of bringing the all important question of revolutionary ethics and morality into the heart of any movement or mass struggle. Inculcation of false idea, rights without the sense of duty or sense of social obligation amongst the masses has caused incalculable harm to the basic morality of the oppressed masses and all

these so called movements and struggles have been reduced to privilege haunting. Comrade Ghosh reminded the gathering that true to the great teachings of Marx that, "In order to change the world, the worker will have to change themselves first" we are to bring in a revolutionary transformation of our character, our moral and ethical values if we are to become the true revolutionary vanguard for the revolutionary transformation of our society.

Comrade Ghosh's speech was illuminating and inspiring and had a tremendous impact on the gathering particularly in the background of the present political situation when in absence of a left oriented leadership in people's movements, anti-communist rightist forces are moving speedily to fill the void, taking advantage of the strong wave of anti-Indira Gandhi and anti ruling party sentiments of the hard-pressed common people.

Comrade Ghosh's speech particularly helped clearing the cobwebs of confusion and theoretical muddles assiduously woven by the pseudo-Marxist parties like CPI(M) CPI etc. that greatly obstruct in the way of having a clear idea of the essence of revolutionary politics in our country.

The A.I.D.S.O. programme has thus been a thundering success and will surely contribute in inspiring the students and masses on to revolutionary line in politics.

## KKMF Conference

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About three thousand delegates covering all districts of West Bengal and more than two hundred fraternal delegates and observers are expected to attend the conference.



Partial view of the crowded packed-up meeting in the New Convocation Hall, Delhi University addressed by Com. Shibdas Ghosh on 26th February '75

# CPI's Fanciful theory on stage of Revolution runs riot

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us that a working class party, a really revolutionary party wages relentless struggle to free the people from the parliamentary illusion and always thwarts the attempt of the bourgeoisie to channelise the movement from taking the revolutionary path to the path of bourgeois parliamentary politics. If the people are freed from the parliamentary illusion, a real working class party never attempts to channelise the struggle again through the parliamentary path. But here the resolution of the tenth Congress of the CPI la m e n t s "...Widening gap between parliamentary institutions and the masses, section of whom are losing faith in state legislatures and parliament due to their most disappointing experience" And so the resolution of the tenth Congress solemnly affirms to defend parliamentary institutions, to transform it into an instrument of struggle of the people and to reflect in it the will of the people. As a true follower of renegade Khrushchev, the CPI proclaims, ".....the party will fight for extending and strengthening the present parliamentary democracy in national democratic direction. The party will strive to see that parliamentary institutions more and more reflect the will of the people and work as forms of struggle against the forces of the right reaction and for winning relief for the people. Through its work in these institutions, the party will make the people see in them a weapon of struggle for social advance. It will strive for combining parliamentary struggle with extra-parliamentary struggle so that the parliamentary institutions in our country can be transformed into instruments of struggle of the masses and for their well being and progress".

Thus according to the CPI, the parliament, as bourgeois institution and a super structure of the

bourgeois state "can be transformed into instruments of struggle of the masses and for their well being and progress". That the proposition of the CPI is anti-Marxist needs no elaboration as there are volumes of writings by great leaders like Lenin explaining the necessity of smashing the bourgeois state and all the bourgeois institutions and replacing them by working class institutions in the era of imperialism and proletarian revolution. The acute crisis of capitalism in the post second world war period has given birth to fascism even within the frame work of parliamentary institution. But to the leaders of the CPI, these are surely nothing but exercises in futility on the part of Lenin! Again it must be understood that the CPI does not want revolution but wants reformation, they want continuation of the *status quo*, they want to practise parliamentary gimmick with revolutionary phrasemongering. They are the best defenders of the bourgeois class notwithstanding their Marxist-Leninist verbosity.

On the question of forming a United Front of the left and democratic forces, the CPI like the CPI(M) slips into the rejected Trotskyite concept of spontaneity and advocates unity from bottom. The resolution of the tenth Congress of the CPI states, "If the question of left unity is looked at in this way, the posing of the question of left unity as a lever for building left and democratic unity or that left unity must precede the building of left and democratic unity becomes not only irrelevant but may lead to wrong tactics. The party, therefore, firmly rejects the political slogan of 'non Congress' united fronts. These are non-class concepts arising out of bourgeois parliamentarism. These concepts in the present situation limit and narrow the scope of the left and democratic movement and play into the

hands of reaction. They disrupt and divide the democratic masses and dissipate and harm the possibilities of building up the widest possible left and democratic unity which the coming period urgently demands"

In the present phase of the development of democratic movement a really revolutionary party wants to forge a united front of all the left and democratic forces to provide an instrument of struggle to the people. But the parties like the CPI and the CPI(M) being guided by non-working class world outlook do not feel the necessity of providing such an instrument of struggle in the hands of the common people. The tenth Congress resolution criticises the disruptive and opportunist policies" of the CPI(M) for "the disunity and disarray among the left and democratic forces". The CPI(M)'s disruptive and left opportunist policies are no doubt the main reasons for the disunity and disarray of the left and democratic forces but the right opportunist policies of the CPI have also contributed a lot towards left and democratic disunity.

Though the CPI does not want to shun the company of the Congress in the national plane yet as a shrewd parliamentary party the CPI keeps its option open in certain states in view of the growing anti-Congress mood of the people of those states. So the tenth Congress resolution of the CPI states, "the party will have to adopt a flexible attitude from state to state, taking into account the concrete situation in each state and also keeping in view the overall national political scene". The resolution then points out the states where bulk of the rightist forces are within the Congress. It states, "While in West Bengal, Maharashtra and some other states, the bulk of the rightist forces are still inside the Congress, the situation is different in

states like Madhya Pradesh, U P and Orissa."

It is clear that in the eventuality of the next election becoming relatively free and fair on the pressure of mass movement, the Congress will be completely routed and so the CPI keeps its option open to join anti-Congress forces in state like West Bengal. This is excellent parliamentary gimmick of the CPI leadership. The CPI finds progressiveness in Congress in three states where it smells a chance of forming Government in alliance with the Congress.

While discussing on the foreign policy of India Government, the resolution of the tenth Congress of the CPI gives a good certificate to Government of India for pursuing a policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism. But no where the real import of the peace policy of the Government of India has been explained. Every year hundreds of crores of rupees are spent on defence outlay and the defence expenditure goes on increasing every year while expenditure on health and other public services dwindle.

Faced with growing economic crisis every capitalist country tries to stimulate the economy artificially by huge military expenditure and India as a capitalist country is no exception to this rule. In a country where majority of the people are half starved, half clad without the minimum basic amenities of life, the bourgeois rulers feel the necessity of public sanction for increasing the defence expenditure and that is why they often raise the bogey of foreign aggression and in order to prove their contention sometimes the stretching of military muscles becomes necessary. So without explaining the inherent law of capitalist economy which generates war, any attempt to laud the peace policy of a bourgeois Government is nothing but to disarm the people in their fight for peace. Moreover the peace

posture of the Government of India is a sham show and the neighbouring states of India like Nepal, Ceylon and Pakistan are alarmed at the expansionist tendency of the Indian bourgeoisie. The recent event in Sikkim is a glaring example. The joint military intervention by India and Pakistan in the internal affairs of Ceylon clearly demonstrates the real character of the India Government. The Indian finance capital backed by the Government of India is trying to rob the markets of Asia and Africa and so a growing anti-Indian feeling is observed in these countries.

The resolution of the tenth Congress of the CPI is full of anti-China venom. No where any principled criticism of any policy of China has been found, and abuses have been hurled at China on grounds for which China is in no way responsible.

Side by side the resolution of the tenth Congress of the CPI lauds the peace policy of the Soviet Union and sells the idea of the Asian collective Security. No where the resolution did point out the lack of the revolutionary perspective of the peace policy pursued by the Soviet revisionist leadership who are capitulating and surrendering to the nuclear blackmailing of the imperialists and instead of resolutely countering the imperialist design of aggression for ensuring peace, are pursuing the policy of appeasement and thereby adding a feather in the cap of imperialist aggression and consequent accentuation of arms race which actually help the imperialist capitalist countries to have a temporary respite from the economic crisis, by stimulating the economy by huge military expenditure.

In conclusion it is to be emphasised that such behaviours of the CPI are solely due to the fact that the CPI notwithstanding its communist nomenclature has failed to emerge

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# Can any movement directed against the ruling party and the ruling class remain detached from the essence of class politics of the society ?

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left to the leaders of CPI(M) for hoodwinking the honest members of the party. Even a cursory glance on such a "thesis" would expose that it is worse than economic determinism. The necessity of organising a broad-based movement, as broad-based as possible, on the demands of civil liberty etc. is granted but has this logic anything to do with Marxism? Is it not a fact that any movement—be it on civil liberty or world peace, is sure to make a deep imprint on the cross-currents of day to day struggles of the masses for their emancipation from the yoke of capitalist exploitation? Can any movement, when it is bound to be directed against the ruling party and the ruling class remain detached from the essence of politics veering round which the mainstream of mass movements is developing? Can any Marxist worth its name suggest that the issues like civil liberty are independent of the very economic and political system and are not the by-products of the crisis of the very capitalist productive system? Is it not a fact that the questions of civil liberty, democratic rights etc. are more involved in the mass movements of Bihar, Gujrat and elsewhere? Then what attempts are being made on behalf of CPI(M) to protect these rights? If "struggle on economic issues is a different matter" as suggested in the article, then what answer will the CPI(M) leader provide regarding the different economic movements like jute strike etc. where the struggles are being conducted even with INTUC—the trade union wing of the ruling party? We would request the CPI(M) workers to judge for themselves the kind of Marxism their leaders are trying to dish out to them.

The CPI(M) leader has pointed out that it is correct that the common people are bursting out with indigna-

tion against the present regime and the rightist forces are taking upper-hands in these movements. But the politics of the rightist forces is meant to serve the interest of the ruling class and hence is incapable of leading the people to emancipation. So to join in these mass movements organised and led by the rightist forces, according to him, will be suicidal as it would help in the ruling class's device, in its bid to retain state power, of making a particular section of the class popular and hero when another section of the class i.e. the ruling circle becomes highly unpopular, discredited and rejected by the people. A wonderful thesis no doubt! As far as we know of Marxism this alternative section of the ruling class that tries to become popular and hero for wielding state power will be successful in this game so long as this force will not be isolated from the people—so long as this task of isolation will not be completed by the communists by joining in these movements and establishing their hegemony over these movements with all their might and strength. So if anybody wants to frustrate this game and conspiracy of the ruling class his first task is to join in this movement and not to run away from this movement. So, may we ask the CPI(M) leader whom are you helping by your thesis—the peoples' movement or the ruling class? Would you kindly answer?

Now, before we take up the question whether our dissociation from the said convention was justified in the present context it is worth while to give a brief resume of the history connected with this episode. It was on 18th Jan '75 that the leaders of CPI(M), R.S.P. F. B. and S. P. met P.C. Sen and his colleagues in the "Navanirman Samity" for sponsoring a convention jointly on the demands of civil liberty, democratic rights, free and fair elections etc. without prior knowledge, not to

speak of approval, of other parties in the nine-party-combination. Thereafter when a meeting of the nine-party-combination was held on 22nd Jan '75, our party representative vehemently criticised not only the wrong and sectarian method as expressed in the move but also pointed out that it was one thing to agree to the proposal of rightist forces joining a movement already launched by the left parties but it was an altogether different thing to sponsor a convention jointly with them. If we found, we said, that the nine-party combination first of all initiated a movement on these demands to which P.C. Sen and his organisation expressed their desire to join—then that would have been an altogether different matter. In that case the task of the left parties would have been to find out a scientific and correct *modus operandi* by following which alone the left parties could utilise the participation of these forces with the movement without giving them any chance to refurbish before the left oriented people of West Bengal, their much tarnished image. Nobody can forget that when the people of West Bengal conducted their heroic battle against P.C. Sen's Government in the pre-1967 days—the point of civil liberty being ruthlessly curtailed and vindictive attitude towards political opponents was one of the important points in that movement. We categorically stated that it would be politically suicidal if in our over zealotry to make the civil liberty issue broad-based we do anything that would help rehabilitate a most discredited force in the body-politic of West Bengal. We thought that such a behaviour was naturally bound to create serious confusion and misgiving in mass mind, liable to blur political clarity and apt to form an impression that in politics, even in left politics, there was nothing as what is called

principle.

But viewing that no other party of the nine-party combination had any objection whatsoever over the question of holding such a convention along with the rightist forces including P. C. Sen (the representative of Workers Party held that they were agreeable to this proposal provided they were allowed to raise their point of view of boycotting the next election) we lent, inspite of serious reservations, our consent lest the very unity and cohesion of the nine-party combination, which we considered to be of immense importance at this critical juncture, was impaired. Had it been a question of fundamental principle, we would not have hesitated as a revolutionary party to go even to wilderness if the situation so demanded. But when the RCP objected to move jointly with the rightist parties and Worker's Party's suggestion that they must be given the option to raise their view of boycotting next election was not conceded to in the meeting of 27th Jan '75 (Workers Party had no objection to hold a joint convention with the rightist forces) we appealed to hold a broad-based convention under the auspices of the nine-party combination and not to break its unity. But this suggestion was not accepted in the meeting. Our position was absolutely clear in dissociating ourselves from this move of joint convention because, apart from our strong reservations it was evident that, let alone broadening the movement, the nine-party combination was unable to take a united stand and maintain its cohesion on such a vital matter.

To sum up, it was justified because, first of all we were strongly opposed to rehabilitating the rightist forces including P.C. Sen, secondly all other parties refused to make a public pledge that they would abide by certain democratic principles in questions pertaining to their behaviours, both individual and

party behaviour, towards other political parties which we thought was essential for those who would lead a movement for democratic right and civil liberty and thirdly the six left parties, including CPI(M), broke the very unity of the nine party-combination.

In fact in the same meeting of 27th January '75 we made a concrete proposal and demanded of all the parties that all of us, not excluding ourselves, must make a public pledge that they would abide by certain democratic principles in questions pertaining to their behaviours, both individual and party behaviour, as we thought it very important for those who were supposed to not only organise but also lead a movement on civil liberty, democratic rights etc. People cannot keep faith on us, not to speak of being inspired by us, if they find that the very sponsors of

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## CPI Resolution

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as a communist party. It has been discussed many-times that without following the correct methodology and the correct process of thinking it is not possible to build up a genuine communist party. The history of the CPI shows beyond any doubt that this correct methodological approach and the process of thinking essential for the building up of a communist party were totally absent right from the very beginning. The parties like the CPI, CPI(M) and the CPI(ML) are all the products of the same incorrect methodology and the process of thinking and hence none of these parties has emerged as a genuine communist party. Because of their communist nomenclature these parties create confusion in public mind and cause immense harm to the revolutionary struggles of the people by their actions. So the sooner these pseudo-communist parties are liquidated and the leadership of the really revolutionary party is established the better would it be for the toiling people of India.

# Our Appeal to the Leaders of CPI(M) to Stop Anti-SUCI Tirade

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civil liberty movement do not hesitate at times to encroach upon the fundamental right of a political party of propagating its stands and view points. In fact, people have witnessed in the past as also in recent times that there are some political forces even among the lefts who quite on and often create obstacles in their own organised pockets and strongholds for the other political parties for pasting posters, conducting normal political activities, selling of literatures etc. Not only that; they even go to the extent of applying physical force and taking resort to violence. Can it be any logic that the act of encroaching upon civil liberty and democratic rights of others and taking resort to physical force etc. constitute grievous acts only when committed by the Congress hoodlums? But if committed by the leftists then such acts are not condemnable—this can never be any logic. We are sure that people cannot swallow such a fantastic logic even if hawked by a big party.

The kind of barbarism that is being perpetrated daily and the nature of fascistic attack regularly let loose on the political opponents of the Congress(R) in West Bengal is really unprecedented. In our considered opinion we cannot fight this menace effectively until and unless we ourselves adhere to these democratic principles in our behaviour towards others and are able to reflect an appropriate cultural standard. It is with this objective that we put forward this suggestion. But to our dismay, we found that this suggestion of ours did not find favour with most of the others of the nine-party-combination.

Now the last point. What is the underlying significance of CPI(M)'s move to hold such a joint

convention with the rightist forces led by P. C. Sen? What compelling situation was there for which the CPI(M) leadership in spite of shunning all mass movements on the plea of 'rightist participation', did not hesitate to risk the unity of the leftists only for holding a convention and nothing else? One need not go far off to get the answer. Although there is no certainty, still then one cannot completely rule out the possibility, of a snap poll in 1975. It is not unlikely that this point is working at the root of this particular behaviour of CPI(M) leadership. If to hold a "broadest possible" convention on the demand of civil liberty would have been the main point as claimed by this party, then it is difficult to answer why such a proposal was not mooted by them a few months back when a broad based convention was held under the auspices of the nine-party-combination on the demand of release of political prisoners, civil liberty etc. when the situation in West Bengal was no better than at present. The only answer is—at that time the speculation of a snap poll was not in the air.

But from all this, it will be wrong to conclude that the CPI(M) leadership is going to make a poll alliance with these rightist forces. Because such an alliance is not supposed to give them much dividend in

West Bengal. So the only meaning of such a move is to create a posture, a stance, with a view to increasing the bargaining power of CPI(M) with Congress(R), that all the anti-ruling party forces including the rightists, a section of the Industrial House and monopoly press, who are opposed to the Indira way and brand of dictatorship, are going to be united in the next election. Can there be any other meaning?—we would like the CPI(M) workers to ponder over.

Be that as it may, there is no doubt that all of us will have to face, as we are facing today, the growing onslaught of the ruling party until and unless we are able to fight back that onslaught. Judged from that point of view it is imperative that all should immediately build up united mass struggles on the burning problems of people's life strong enough to compel the Government to concede to these just demands. In the interest of that mass struggle all of us should give up the practice of indulging in a feeling of hatred and animosity, cooking up lies and spreading slander and conducting tirade against any brother party. We appeal to the leaders of CPI(M) to give up this anti-SUCI tirade and come forward to build up an atmosphere congenial for the growth of united mass movements.

## Comrade Tapas Dutta Condemns Police Firing on Konkinda People

Comrade Tapas Dutta, Secretary, Orissa State Committee of SUCI has issued the following statement to the press. "I, on behalf of the Orissa State Committee of SUCI strongly condemn the unprovoked police firing, lathi-charge and use of tear-gas on the poor villagers of Konkinda in Sambalpur district, who refused to pay levy, on 15th February—as a result of which one villager named Sri Kunja Behari Sahoo died of bullet injury and several others including a good number of women, were seriously injured.

"The present Congress Government is collecting levy from the poor and middle peasants forcefully, while a lenient attitude is being expressed in matters of fixation of quota and in matters of collection towards the rich peasants and big land holders, who are supporters of the ruling party in the rural areas. Moreover, the land records are also faulty. As a result collection is very poor. The Government ration system has

become defunct, there is no supply of food-grain in the villages at reasonable price by the Government. This irresponsible Government is taking away food-grain from the poor peasants, but it cannot give guarantee of supply of food to them at reasonable prices at the time of their need. Usually every year, the prices of food-grain in these months remain downward. But this year nowhere in Orissa rice is available below Rs. 2'00 per Kg. and in some places it is between Rs. 2'50 and Rs. 3'00 per kg. We apprehend that in the coming months it will go up further and the state will face a famine if necessary steps are not taken in the mean time.

"We demand: (1) Judicial enquiry of the police firing (2) compensation to the family of the deceased (3) stop collection of levy from the poor and middle peasants (4) supply rice at reasonable price to the village and town people through Government ration shops."

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I, Sukomal Das Gupta, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Sd/- SUKOMAL DAS GUPTA  
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A section of the vast students rally obstructed by the Police near Boat Club